

American Indians, Chained and Unchained

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"One of General Sheridan's Ways With Indians and What Came of It"

BY

R. H. PRATT, Brig. Gen., U. S. A.

ONE OF GENERAL SHERIDAN'S WAYS WITH INDIANS AND WHAT CAME OF IT.

During the Civil War the previous indifferent management of our Indians went into greater chaos. I say indifferent because there never was a settled energetic policy looking to Indian civilization and citizenship. The Indians were simply pests in our way, to be ejected whenever our covetous frontier people wanted the land which was the Indians' home. Most of the vast country west of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers still remained their roaming ground and pasture for the innumerable herds of buffalo, elk, deer, antelope and other game upon which they depended for house, clothing and food.

Succeeding the war there was vast emigration into this fair country by our people, made up largely of the heroic spirits inured to conflict by that war. Naturally the Indians suffered from this aggression. The game was rapidly slaughtered, the red men's limits narrowed, and they were constantly disturbed, for our frontier people have seldom admitted that Indians had any rights a white man should respect. There was conflict everywhere from the Canadian border to Mexico and from the Mississippi to the Pacific. The troops of the Regular Army, the militia of the States and Territories, and many hastily organized neighborhood forces were often campaigning against them.

In the Southwest, where my Regular Army service began in 1867, the conditions were then as bad as anywhere in that whole region. The Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowas, Comanches and Apaches in what is now Oklahoma were always fighting to save their game and to preserve their nomadic liberty, and believed themselves justified in retaliating on the encroaching settlements. Northern and Western Texas, Western Kansas and New Mexico suffered most.

In 1867 the leaders of these tribes, bowing to the inevitable, entered into treaties with the United States to accept as reservations certain sections in the Indian Territory, now Oklahoma; but turbulent spirits in all the tribes ignored and resented their treaties and continued depredating.

Lieutenant-General Sheridan commanded our military forces in the country west of the Mississippi, including the Rocky Mountains from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, and in 1868 he organized a vigorous campaign against the restless hostiles, then including nearly all of the Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians. The energy of our troops that fall and winter drove the Indians to refuge on their reservations and forced them to come under the care of their agents.

There was moderation in the border raiding activities of the Indians immediately following that campaign, but agency conditions were oppressive to them, and the treaty obligations on our part not at all faithfully observed, and these conditions led them more and more to renew their excesses throughout their old haunts. Their rapine grew so bad that in the summer of 1874 General Sheridan submitted to President Grant a scheme which would compel them to remain on their reservations.

From a synopsis furnished me in 1880 by General Phil Sheridan through his brother, Colonel M. V. Sheridan, then his aid, now retired Brigadier-General, I could quote liberally from many official communications which passed between Lieutenant-General Sheridan, President Grant, the Secretaries of War and Interior, Generals Sherman, Pope and Auger and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, bearing upon General Sheridan's plan, its character and necessity. In substance, General Sheridan said: "These Indians are constantly invading the settlements. If I have permission I will chase them down this summer, fall and winter and make them tired of that business, then I will select from among the ringleaders and the worst of the masses, a large party and send it to some remote eastern Military Fort, so far away from their home and so restrained that any violence will be impossible, and I will keep them under this restraint until they have changed their minds and learned that it is hopeless for them to continue further hostilities." To this program the President and other authorities agreed.

General Sheridan had all the Indians notified that those who would come in by a certain date and camp in the immediate vicinity of their Agencies, where the men must answer to daily roll-call, would be treated as friendly, and all who remained out would be dealt with as hostiles to be pursued and punished.

He then sent into the field and kept active all winter six separate commands of troops, under Generals Miles, McKenzie, Davidson, Buell, Neill, and Colonel Price. The troops were kept moving throughout that vast region, and the hostiles had no rest or safety that fall and winter. This forced them to surrender in bands from time to time, and then their ponies and war materials were taken from them and they were held as prisoners under military care.

The General then ordered an investigation into the conduct during several years previous of every Indian belonging to each of the several Agencies, and where it was found they had led or participated in raids along the border in violation of their treaties, and had committed acts of violence against settlers or emigrants, they were shackled and imprisoned.

The carrying out of these instructions at Fort Sill against the Comanches and Kiowas, and the selecting of Indians to be fettered and imprisoned, fell to my lot, in addition to the duty of commanding the Indian and white scouts with the Fort Sill

Column. I was then a First Lieutenant in the Tenth U. S. Cavalry. By early spring of 1875 the Indians were all in and about their Agencies, excepting the Quahada Comanches under Quanah Parker. The investigations of the many acts of violence by Indians along the frontier for several years previous gave Indian and white testimony against many leaders and perpetrators for alleged murder, until about one hundred and fifty were closely imprisoned and ironed.

General Sheridan's plan included the intention to find the most criminal and have them tried by a Military Commission and punished at their Agencies, but the Attorney-General of the United States ruled that a state of war, which is the required condition before a Military Commission can act, could not exist between the Government and its wards, therefore it was not legal to try them by such a court. No available civil courts existed in that region.

It was then determined that the ringleaders and most criminal should all be sent in chains as prisoners to Florida, and held there indefinitely.

Seventy-two were selected: twenty-seven Kiowas, nine Comanches, thirty-three Cheyennes, two Arapahoes and one Caddoe. These were each under direct charges for various acts of murder and rapine, and in some cases indictments had been drawn up. Nine of the Cheyennes were part of the band of Cheyenne raiders into Kansas which had attacked an old man by the name of Germaine, emigrating with his family to the West, killing the man, his wife and son, and carrying the four daughters to their camps in captivity.

A recent article says that the seventy-two were picked out by the Germaine girls. This is a mistake, shown to be so by the official list with the offenses alleged against each prisoner.

In April, 1875, these seventy-two Indian prisoners started from Fort Sill to the railroad, 140 miles, in army wagns, into which they were securely chained. They were guarded by two companies of infantry and two of cavalry under Captain T. J. Wint, 4th U. S. Cavalry. At Caddo they were placed on the cars and transferred to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, where they remained two weeks. Here I received orders from the War Department to take the party to Florida and remain in charge. We proceeded to St. Augustine, and the Indians were placed in confinement in the old Spanish Fort, San Marco, built in the 16th and 17th centuries.

On the cars one of the chiefs attempted suicide by stabbing himself in the neck and chest seven times with a small short-bladed penknife. He was thought to be dying and left at Nashville in the care of a Guard to be buried, but rallied and was forwarded to St. Augustine, where, refusing all food, he starved himself to death. Graybeard, principal Chief of the Cheyennes, jumped from a car window as we entered Florida, and was shot

by the Sergeant of the Guard, and died two hours later. They were all under the greatest depression when they reached St. Augustine, a number of them sick, and several soon died.

I had suggested to General Sheridan that while under this banishment they should be industrially trained, educated and civilized so far as possible, so that if returned to their people they would go back as influences for good. Feeling they were secure in the old Fort, and that the great distance from their homes convinced them of the impossibility of escape, I soon removed their irons. Work for them was found, at first in the polishing of 10,000 sea beans for curio dealers, for which they received \$1,000, and they made canes, bows and arrows and other curios, which they sold to visitors. Later, when they had accepted their banishment, they were placed out to work in the various industries in and about the old town.

Benevolent ladies, some of them skilled school-teachers, undertook their education, and the younger men and a number of older ones were under scholastic instruction in the casements of the old Fort fitted up crudely as schoolrooms. They learned to speak English, and many of the younger men to write creditable letters. Regular religious services were established, and eventually all who cared to were permitted to go to church services in the town. They were dressed in the fatigue uniform of U. S. soldiers.

Four months after their incarceration, finding them apprehensive of danger from the Military Guard, and having by experience great confidence in their integrity when pledged to an obligation, I asked and was permitted to organize the younger men as a Company and use them as Guards for the Fort, dispensing with the Military Guard. Guns were given them and for more than two years and a half the Indian prisoners guarded themselves and the Fort without material breach of discipline throughout that period. The Guard, carefully instructed, was on duty night and day, keeping the Indians in, unless they had passes to go out, and the people out except at visiting hours. They were drilled as a company of soldiers, which greatly improved their condition and carriage. All were taught to keep their quarters, clothing and themselves neat, and daily inspections instituted to enforce cleanliness.

During proper hours, if neatly dressed, they were permitted to have individual passes and go into the town to make purchases or see friends among the citizens, always, however, directly on business and never to loaf about the streets. They were taught to sail and row boats and serve visitors who wanted to go fishing, or to the beach, or up and down the bay, and were several times taken out to camp on Anastasia Island, and at Matanzas Inlet, 16 miles south of St. Augustine, to relieve the monotony and improve their health.

Their labor capacity developed to such a degree that they were given various employments in and about the town, grubbing palmetto land, preparing it for orange groves, in the saw mill, taking care of horses, milking cows, moving a building, picking oranges and other jobs, until their usefulness was so well established as to cause jealousy on the part of the laboring people of the town. Then a petition was sent to Washington to have me restrained in these industrial efforts, alleging they interfered with the rights of other laborers. The Senator from Florida introduced a resolution for this purpose in the Senate, but no restrictions were placed and nothing further came of it.

The daily contact with our kindly people brought amazing results in transforming them into capable civilized men. When they had grown to feel at home in civilized dress and pursuits they wanted to quit their tribes and abandon their old life forever, and asked to have their women and children sent to them and to remain in Florida, and they would agree to sacrifice tribal claims on the Government, care for themselves and families, and to make good civilized uses of their lives. Their petition was denied, and at the end of three years their release was being favorably considered, but a strange condition had grown up among them. They had tested real civilization stripped of all theory, and wanted more.

General Hancock, commanding the Department, was sent down to look us over and report. Twenty-two of the younger men, some of them with families at home, told him that if permitted to remain East and go to school for further education and training, they would prefer to do that for three years longer. This was permitted, but as there was no money in the national appropriations for their education, the necessary funds would have to be found outside of the Government. Charitable people from the North, who had become interested in them individually and collectively, came forward and agreed to take the expenses of the whole twenty-two. Bishop Whipple, of Minnesota, long noted for his interest in the Indians, undertook four; Mrs. Jos. Larocque, of New York, two; Mrs. Burnham, of Syracuse, N. Y., four; others, one each.

Correspondence with a number of agricultural and industrial schools failed to secure entrance for any of them anywhere, until Hampton Institute was suggested, and appeal was made to General Armstrong, its Superintendent.

General Armstrong, chary at first, finally accepted of seventeen. Mrs. Burnham's four were taken into the family of the Rev. Mr. Wicks, an Episcopal clergyman at Paris Hill, near Utica, N. Y., and the other one went to Tarrytown, on the Hudson, into the family of Dr. and Mrs. Caruthers. The prisoners were then released and all others ordered to be taken to their homes. An excursion steamer plying the St. John's River, winters, and the Chesapeake Bay, summers, took us from St. Augustine to Hamp-

ton at small cost. The Indian Office sent General Jas. R. O'Briene, then Washington correspondent of the "New York Herald," to take the home-goers out of my hands at Hampton and conduct them back to their homes. No other acts of hostility or depredation were committed by these tribes after the prisoners started for Florida.

I had advised General Armstrong that the young men in their ability in civilized pursuits furnished him a nucleus for an increase of younger Indians, boys and girls, if he chose to undertake them. The Florida party soon convinced the General, and he made application to the Interior Department for an increase of fifty Indian boys and girls to be supported by the Government. The proposition was canvassed by Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Schurz; the Secretary of War, Mr. McCrary, and Mr. Hayes, then President, and accepted. The Secretary of War ordered me to go to Leavenworth, Kansas, to secure fifty pupils for Hampton from the Nez Perce Indians under Chief Joseph, then held as prisoners of war at that point.

On arrival at Leavenworth I found that General Pope, in command, without waiting for me to present the Government's intention, had directed the officer in charge of the prisoners to negotiate with the Nez Perces, and they had concluded they would not willingly give any children until the Government declared its intentions for the tribe. As it was not contemplated to take them by force, the effort to secure pupils from that tribe was abandoned. General Pope then wanted me to remain at Leavenworth and take charge of the Nez Perces and repeat the Florida experience by placing them on that portion of the military reserve on the opposite side of the Missouri River from the Fort; but I asked and was excused from this, inasmuch as the conditions and facilities were so little conducive to success.

Returning to Washington, I reported to the Secretary of War the reasons for failure and asked that if sent elsewhere for students the orders be given to me personally, so that I could present the case directly to the Indians before any contrary influence was applied. This was accepted, and I received orders to bring the fifty youths from seven Dakota Indian Agencies on the Missouri River: Fort Berthold, Fort Yates, Cheyenne River, Crow Creek, Lower Brule, Spotted Tail and Yankton. I proceeded alone to Fort Berthold, went down the river and arranged for a quota from each Agency, except "Spotted Tail." The Spotted Tail and Red Cloud Indians had very recently been located on the Missouri River at the old Pawnee Agency, not far from Yankton. Becoming discontented with their treatment, they had left the river and gone beyond my reach out near the Black Hills. I then returned to Fort Berthold, accompanied by my wife, who joined me on the way back, and we gathered up forty-seven Indian boys and girls from six Agencies and took them to Hampton.

The Secretary of War had promised to renew my leave of absence after this service was completed. Soon after reaching Hampton I received orders from the Secretary of War to remain at Hampton in charge of the Indians, "until they become accustomed to their new mode of life and interested in educational pursuits." In about three months thereafter I notified Secretary McCrary that the young Indians were "now accustomed to their new mode of life and interested in educational pursuits," and as there was a regular army officer with Indian experience already detailed at Hampton under the law giving army officers to agricultural schools, I was not needed and might be relieved to join my regiment. The Secretary in a personal note requested me to remain at Hampton for the present, and I soon found that an amendment to the Army Appropriation Bill had been introduced for my permanent "detail with reference to Indian education," with a view of continuing me at Hampton in special charge of the Indians.

I remained at Hampton for nearly a year, during which period I became satisfied that any general system of education for the Indians in schools away from the tribes should have the best incentives of contact with industrious white people, and not negroes. The education of colored youth, already English-speaking, related to 8,000,000 people recently admitted as citizens, but under more prejudice, while the education of the Indians related to only 275,000 non-citizens, divided into many languages, who were not at all under that kind of prejudice.

Experience had shown that the few Indians, if properly handled, could easily and quickly be merged and assimilated in their interests with our white population, from whom they could best get the high and better ideas of life they all needed to become useful citizens. These views led to warm discussion between General Armstrong and me, until I finally declared I could not conscientiously remain on duty at Hampton, but was willing, if held to duty in Indian education, to undertake a school especially for Indians and there work out my own ideas.

I went to Washington and suggested to Mr. Schurz that Carlisle Barracks, then unoccupied, located in the rich Cumberland Valley in Pennsylvania, whose industrious people would be examples for the pupils, might be utilized for such a school.

Secretary Schurz quickly said, "If Secretary McCrary will give us Carlisle Barracks, we will put an Indian School there under your charge." Secretary McCrary agreed to turn over Carlisle Barracks if there were no legal objections, and if there were legal objections he would ask Congress to remove them.

It was found that public property could not pass to other departments without congressional action, and the Secretary had a bill drawn to transfer Carlisle Barracks to the Interior Department for an Indian School. Duplicate copies were made, and Governor Pound, a member of the House from Wisconsin, and

Governor Pendleton, a member of the Senate from Ohio, introduced the bill in the House and Senate. The bills were referred to the Indian Committees of the two branches of Congress, and Governor Pound was appointed by the House Committee to report to the Committee on the feasibility of it. A report was written, and then the bill, with a favorable recommendation from the Committee, was returned to the House and placed on the calendar.

I was then instructed by the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Interior how to "lobby" for its passage. The Secretaries sent me daily to explain to members of the House and Senate, and kept me in Washington several months. It was then found that the bill was so far down on the calendar it could not be reached that session. Secretary McCrary then invented a way to go ahead and establish the school. He said:

"We have the bill before Congress with a favorable report from the Committee, and I will submit it to General Hancock, who commands the Department in which Carlisle Barracks is located, and if in his judgment Carlisle can be spared, I will then ask General Sherman's opinion, and, if he thinks well of it, we will turn Carlisle over for an Indian School, pending the action of Congress on the bill."

General Hancock endorsed, "Carlisle Barracks will never again be required for military purposes, and I know of no better place for such an experiment." General Sherman endorsed with his own hand, "approved, providing both Indian boys and girls are educated at said school."

The Secretary then issued the order, and in September, 1879, Carlisle Barracks was tentatively given to the Interior Department for an Indian School, awaiting the favorable action of Congress, and I was detailed under the law in the Army Bill.

The barracks had been abandoned as a station for troops for seven years and held under the care of an army officer, with a Sergeant and a few men to protect the buildings. The Indian Bureau instructed me to proceed to Rosebud and Pine Ridge, Sioux Agencies in Dakota, and gather seventy-two boys and girls, thirty-six from each, and to bring from tribes in the Indian Territory enough more to make one hundred and twenty. Hampton loaned most of the former Florida prisoners to assist in the beginning. Repairs to the barracks were immediately started, and I went to Rosebud and Pine Ridge Agencies for pupils. Eighty-four boys and girls—twelve more than the number authorized—were secured from those two Agencies and brought to Carlisle. Among them were five children of Spotted Tail, and many of the others were children of the most noted chiefs at those Agencies. We reached Carlisle, October 6, 1879.

Before starting to Dakota I had sent Etahdleuh, one of the Florida prisoners, to the Kiowa and Comanche Agency after pupils, and Making Medicine to the Cheyenne and Arapahoe

Agency. These two, with the help of Agents Miles and Haworth, made up good parties in which I was much gratified to find a number of the children of my Florida prisoners, which proved their confidence in their former jailor.

Mr. A. J. Standing, whom I had known as a successful teacher among the Indians at the Wichita and Fort Sill Agencies, was engaged to assist at the School. He was then in Kansas, and secured a party from the Pawnees. The children from these tribes enabled the school to open November 1, 1879, with 147 pupils, twenty-seven more than was authorized.

The expenses of the school were paid the first three years from what was called the "Civilization Fund," which was several hundred thousand dollars accumulated for the purpose of general Indian civilization from the sale of Osage Indian lands in Kansas. The success of the school led the Interior Department to help it to grow, and after three years Congress had confidence and passed the bill permanently to use Carlisle Barracks, and then began to appropriate for its support. Congressional favor continued its growth, until at the age of twenty years it numbered an average yearly attendance of over a thousand pupils from more than eighty tribes.

Training in industries was to be no less a factor than general education in English. A farm was rented and shops were established for trades; a practical agriculturist and mechanics were employed to make farmers, printers, carpenters, blacksmiths, wagonmakers, shoemakers, harness-makers, tailors, tinsmiths, painters, etc., out of the boys, while suitable instructors taught the girls cooking, needlework, laundrying, housekeeping, and all household duties. A system of half-day work and half-day school, with an evening study hour, was early found to be the best co-ordinating arrangement between school and industries and was continued throughout, and adopted in all Indian schools.

The first summer at Hampton I urged General Armstrong to place the young Indians out in good families to work during the summer vacation, where they might not only learn agriculture and industry at first hands, but also improve in their English and the habits of civilized life by coming into personal contact with exemplary citizens.

The General agreed and asked Mr. Hyde, of Lee, Mass., one of his Trustees, to find homes for the Florida squad in Berkshire County. Mr. Hyde reported he had been unsuccessful in getting the people interested because they were afraid of the Indians, and only one prospective home was offered. General Armstrong asked what was to be done, and I said, "Let me take a sample Indian and go to Lee."

The General consented, and taking Etahdleuh, a Kiowa, I went to Lee, where a meeting was held in the Congregational Church. Etahdleuh and I appeared before this meeting, where he made an address, and I stated the case of the Indians. The

people, after seeing and talking to the Indian, changed their minds and we soon secured homes for the seventeen former Florida prisoners for the summer of 1868. This outing system was continued by Hampton.

“Outing” during vacation was at once instituted at Carlisle, and the second summer one hundred and five boys and girls were placed on farms and in families. This feature of the school grew until in twenty years the average number out each summer reached over seven hundred. There was a disadvantage in having the Indians close to Carlisle, because it was too easy to make frequent visits, or to run away and return to the school. Most of the pupils were entirely new to the homes of white people, and, therefore, more or less afraid, which led to quite a number of apparent failures the first year. Courage grew rapidly and failures decreased. The third summer, homes further away from the school were secured, particularly among the Society of Friends in Bucks County and in the country about Philadelphia. This feature of the school proved through all the years one of the very best and most important helps to its great success, because it enforced the theory of school by practice and quickly accustomed the pupils to civilized life.

Indian boys and girls isolated from their fellows, surrounded by English-speaking people, advance in English and civilization far more rapidly than is possible in any Indian School. They earned money which was all theirs and which spurred their energies by giving to them many advantages the resources of the school could not supply. They were taught to save and place at interest, until their accumulated savings at the close of each summer’s outing was over thirty-five thousand dollars, giving all savers good help to begin life on leaving school.

In all the lines of industrial training it was established that Indians responded to the opportunities and influences of industrial development quite as readily as other races. If individually placed on farms, and working under the immediate direction and example of the farmer himself, they acted promptly and became equal in all the labor of the farm to ordinary white boys. They could plow as well and do as much as the farmer boys. If gathering in the crops, they could take a team and run the mowing-machine or reaper and follow the farmer himself without any trouble. They learned the intricacies of the machines and kept them in proper condition. If the farmer worked early and late, the Indians did the same, and so by the force of example and the friendly direction of the employer, Indians became industrious, competent farmers.

In all the shops and on the farm at Carlisle, working in masses many boys were under the direction of one instructor, which tended to theory. Having learned a trade by a four years’ apprenticeship in boyhood and from observation at Hampton, I understood how production under instruction was feasible, and early

resolved that theory should be minimized in all industries. We started at once to make our own clothing, the boys making all the coats, pants and vests needed by the boys, and shoes for both the boys and girls, also wagons, harness and tinware for the Agencies. We erected our own buildings and attended to all repairs. The girls made their own clothing and the boys' underwear, did the laundry work, table waiting, etc. Students cared for their own rooms and the buildings throughout. There was no difficulty in all this and the results were satisfactory and most encouraging.

We started a printing office under the care of a skillful and well-informed printer, an excellent schoolroom teacher with considerable former experience among Indians. We printed two school papers—a weekly and a monthly—with circulations eventually running into the thousands, provided all the blanks and did the job printing for the school, and some Department and other work outside. In this, as well as in all other departments, there was no trouble in making skilled workmen out of young Indians.

These experiences early demonstrated that the Indians have remained aboriginal and useless in this country only because of lack of opportunity to become anything else.

Where pupils had no knowledge of English the word method and object teaching were instituted. It was not long before those coming with no English had in use a very considerable vocabulary which easily grew to a full knowledge and use of the language.

The possession of English opens the doors to about all the knowledge this world contains. From Colonial days in our meagre help to the Indians there had been a dominating policy which translated books and the Bible into Indian languages and created vernacular systems of education. This policy blinded progress and kept the doors to general knowledge closed to the Indians, limiting them to just that portion which those who used the systems cared to give them.

We early found at Carlisle that we could give young Indians the education in English which enabled them to read and understand the Bible and opened the way to all knowledge in English quite as quickly as the other system could give them education in their own language. Besides these limitations on the use of the hindering tribal systems in two and a half centuries only four of the more than eighty tribes and radically different languages had ever been provided with any kind of a vernacular system.

It was determined that at Carlisle we would not attempt even a high school education. Experience showed that the best place to educate the Indian for capable citizenship was side by side with our own youth in the same schools and classes which make our own youth capable citizens. Equality of opportunity and rivalry in school best fitted the Indian to compete for the benefits of the life in which they must meet and contend individually with our people. *No prejudice prevented.* Young Indians prop-

erly prepared were accepted and entered our schools and colleges everywhere, so every means was used to forward pupils into our general school systems.

Under the "outing" system it was arranged that where farmers were pleased with our pupils during the summer, and pupils were satisfied, they could remain out during the winter to work mornings and evenings for their keep, as the children of the family, provided they attended the public schools with white children. From year to year this outside schooling was made to grow until over 300 were so kept out each winter, and it became one of the very best of our many facilities in educating and training young Indians in civilization and citizenship.

Based on these ideas, I resisted pressure from Indian Bureau authority which planned an exclusive segregating system of schools for Indians, and to turn the Carlisle School into an Indian College.

Graduation was fixed at about half-way between the grammar and high school grades of our public schools.

The arrangement with the Indians at first was that their children should remain at Carlisle for three years and then return home. If we began on them without any previous education, this did not half cover the time necessary to reach graduation. A five-year enlistment for all incoming students was then instituted, and by repeating that term it was practicable to secure graduation, but ten years passed before we were able to turn out a small class of graduates. The demand was for the children's return at the end of the three or five years' term, and too often, after reaching home, there were other than Indian influences at the Agencies preventing their return to the school. Resort was then had to influencing the Indian pupils themselves to remain at the school and graduate, getting them to urge their parents' consent. By this means we finally secured considerable graduate classes, and the five years from 1899 to 1904 we had from thirty-eight to forty-six graduates each year.

Very soon after Carlisle was under way the Indian Bureau established a non-reservation school on the Pacific Coast in Oregon and appointed Captain Wilkinson, an army officer, Superintendent. This added still more activity to all Indian education. As soon as Congress began to enlarge appropriations for Indian education, many schemes grew up in political and church plans to control Indian schools and the public money therefor. The people of particular communities, chiefly those contiguous to the Indians, were led to urge the Government for an Indian school in their neighborhood, and the churches pushed for increase of mission schools among the Indians at Government cost, at the same time Indian Agents urged for large tribal school plants under their supervision. All these resulted in holding the Indians together in tribal masses. Twenty-five non-reservation schools, most of them close to the reservations, and many additional mis-

sion and agency schools at Government cost, were established. These enterprises were almost all of them unfortunate in their conception and execution, because being among or near the Indians they fostered tribalism and jealousy toward the remote schools and did not even attempt or purpose to make citizens. No material "outing" was practiced by them, nor did they forward the children into the public and higher schools.

I have long contended that all public money appropriated for the education of children in America, native or naturalized, should build them into individual independent citizens, thus securing to them the freedom of life and opportunity provided by our Declaration of Independence and Constitution. Race schools fail in these results through ignoring the individual as the unit and binding him in masses to race destiny.

Every Indian in the United States able to cope with us in our affairs with any degree of success secured that ability through going among our people.

Indians with this ability need no special bureau or other supervision, and this fact and its demonstration disturbed and aroused the hostility of antiquated supervisions.

Great publicity and favor to our red people resulted from the three years the Indian prisoners remained in Florida. Many thousands of visitors saw them yearly and changed their minds about the character of Indians generally, because they witnessed their improvement and realized their possibilities. Newspapers and magazines all over the country copiously informed the public about them and their achievements.

As the movement passed on and became a part of Hampton Institute, Va., then moved to Carlisle, Pa., and established at that point the first great non-reservation and example school, and from there branched out into twenty-four other non-reservation schools, a few of them large and well located for civilized and industrial example, publicity and appreciation grew, and the Carlisle beacon, "*To civilize the Indian; get him into civilization; to keep him civilized, let him stay,*" was confirmed.

I close this meagre history with some illustrative statistics and facts taken from the Indian Office Reports.

When the prisoners started in 1875 the total enrollment of Indian youth in Government and Church schools, exclusive of the five civilized tribes, was 6,101. This represented two and a half centuries' growth of the educational purpose and civilizing energy of State and Church in their supervision of over eighty tribes, having a population of 215,000. Some of these tribes had treaties in which the Government had agreed years before to educate all their children, and yet had no children in school.

In 1904, twenty-nine years after, there was a total enrollment in schools from these tribes of nearly five times as many, or 30,288. In 1875 all the schools were purely tribal and reservation; there were no Government or Mission Indian Schools away

from the tribes. In 1904, twenty-nine years later, there were twenty-five non-reservation schools, with an enrollment of 9,300.

In 1875 practically all the tribes stumbled along in their business affairs and intercourse with the whites through paid interpreters, usually white men or mixed bloods. In 1904 young Indians from all the tribes taught in the schools to speak English had removed all necessity for paid interpreters, and there were always enough present to correct any misinterpretations.

In 1875 few Indians ever ventured beyond their tribal limits, and an Indian living away from his tribe and among whites was almost unknown. In 1904 multitudes were so living among the whites, and hundreds had entirely separated from their tribes and gone into employments among the whites in city and country throughout the United States, many of them highly esteemed in the communities in which they lived for their industry, skill and good character.

In 1875 the Indians all held their lands in common and tribal masses. There were no allotments in severalty, but among the five civilized tribes and the Indians in New York State, and possibly some smaller aggregations, they could, under tribal laws, individually occupy indefinitely such of the tribal lands as they improved and built upon.

In 1904 a very large proportion of the Indians had received allotments aggregating many millions of acres, and the consent to and contentment of the Indians with these allotments was due very largely to the influence of the Indians who had been among the whites and learned the white man's system of individual ownership.

In 1875, except among the five tribes alleged to be civilized, no Indians were used as instructors in the Indian schools or as material helpers at the Agencies, and very few Indians were used in skilled labor capacities anywhere in the Indian service. In 1904 over a thousand skilled Indians were employed in the Government school and Agency service in all capacities, including heads of boarding schools, assistant superintendents, teachers, disciplinarians, farm and mechanical instructors, clerks, engineers, and other positions.

No influence contributed as much to the inception and accomplishment of these results as the Indian 'prisoners, grown to an army of thousands of young Indians, hurrying on' to good American citizenship ability under the practical training of the qualified schools and their experiences among citizens.

In 1901 official investigation by the Indian Bureau established that "86 per cent. of the returned pupils from non-reservation schools compare favorably with educated white boys and girls," that "13 per cent. are raised somewhat above previous conditions, but results are not entirely satisfactory," while only "1 per cent.

were not benefited." Recent inquiry strengthens this excellent showing, and, taking graduates only, the record could hardly be more gratifying.

I reported to General Sheridan from Florida and had his encouragement for the course pursued, and when he came to command the army his interest continued in what I was doing at Carlisle. The following letter is a sample of the incentive he gave throughout:

HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE
MISSOURI,

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS; December 27, 1876.

To Lieut. R. H. Pratt, 10th U. S. Cavalry, Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Fla.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your interesting letter of the 18th inst., reporting the progress made in your efforts to civilize the Indian prisoners in your charge. Lieutenant-General Sheridan, to whom I submitted your report, is much pleased with the result which you set forth in your communication, and trusts that your judicious management will eventually meet with the success which it deserves.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JAMES W. FORSYTH,
Military Secretary.

CONCLUSION.

This experience says plainly that to solve the Indians' problem we need only to

Remove prejudice and give equal ability and equal rights.

That prejudice vanishes through proper association and industrial usefulness, and equal ability comes when the same training is given during association.

Equal ability can always take care of equal rights.

There are thousands of successes and no undue proportion of failures under this formula.

General Carpenter, a member of this Commandry, with many years of distinguished regular army service against Indians, which included close observation of the Government's system of treatment, said, "No other civilized nation on earth would have been so entirely without a judicious and settled policy to guide officials in its treatment of a dependent people." General Carpenter is right. The reservation segregating system under rapidly changing and ignorant heads has been the sole prevention of any reasonable progress of the Indians in our civilization.

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ton at small cost. The Indian Office sent General Jas. R. O'Brienne, then Washington correspondent of the "New York Herald," to take the home-goers out of my hands at Hampton and conduct them back to their homes. No other acts of hostility or depredation were committed by these tribes after the prisoners started for Florida.

I had advised General Armstrong that the young men in their ability in civilized pursuits furnished him a nucleus for an increase of younger Indians, boys and girls, if he chose to undertake them. The Florida party soon convinced the General, and he made application to the Interior Department for an increase of fifty Indian boys and girls to be supported by the Government. The proposition was canvassed by Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Schurz; the Secretary of War, Mr. McCrary, and Mr. Hayes, then President, and accepted. The Secretary of War ordered me to go to Leavenworth, Kansas, to secure fifty pupils for Hampton from the Nez Perce Indians under Chief Joseph, then held as prisoners of war at that point.

On arrival at Leavenworth I found that General Pope, in command, without waiting for me to present the Government's intention, had directed the officer in charge of the prisoners to negotiate with the Nez Perces, and they had concluded they would not willingly give any children until the Government declared its intentions for the tribe. As it was not contemplated to take them by force, the effort to secure pupils from that tribe was abandoned. General Pope then wanted me to remain at Leavenworth and take charge of the Nez Perces and repeat the Florida experience by placing them on that portion of the military reserve on the opposite side of the Missouri River from the Fort; but I asked and was excused from this, inasmuch as the conditions and facilities were so little conducive to success.

Returning to Washington, I reported to the Secretary of War the reasons for failure and asked that if sent elsewhere for students the orders be given to me personally, so that I could present the case directly to the Indians before any contrary influence was applied. This was accepted, and I received orders to bring the fifty youths from seven Dakota Indian Agencies on the Missouri River: Fort Berthold, Fort Yates, Cheyenne River, Crow Creek, Lower Brule, Spotted Tail and Yankton. I proceeded alone to Fort Berthold, went down the river and arranged for a quota from each Agency, except "Spotted Tail." The Spotted Tail and Red Cloud Indians had very recently been located on the Missouri River at the old Pawnee Agency, not far from Yankton. Becoming discontented with their treatment, they had left the river and gone beyond my reach out near the Black Hills. I then returned to Fort Berthold, accompanied by my wife, who joined me on the way back, and we gathered up forty-seven Indian boys and girls from six Agencies and took them to Hampton.

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